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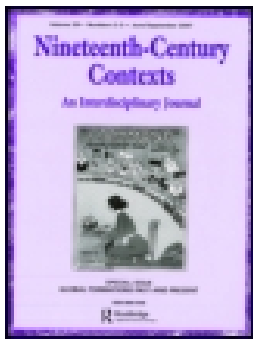
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RESEARCH ARTICLE



Ecologies of the Atlantic Archipelago

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In the archives of the Yale Center for British Art there is an album of pressed plant, flower, and seaweed specimens. This material artefact – assembled by an unknown collector – features plates from across the Atlantic archipelago, or what Andrew McNeillie has described as the “unnameable constellation of islands on the Eastern Atlantic coast” (2007, vii). Preserved between 1856 and 1863, Welsh seaweeds from Aberystwyth, and ivy from Glasplant and Llechryd (Figure 1) are carefully placed within the same scrapbook as specimens from the Bog of Allen (Figure 2), Carrickfergus, the Isle of Wight, Sussex (Figure 3), and Somerset. Confounding taxonomical distinctions, the plants and flowers are sometimes arranged aesthetically, rather than according to genus and species. While the anonymity of this particular collector adds to the emphasis on the non-human, the collector of another such album of botanical specimens highlights women’s engagement with natural history and knowledge production across these islands. Madeleine Mathiss’s album, for example, contains 30 specimens of seaweed and includes samples collected on the south coast of England (Torquay, Brighton, and Southend) and on the northern coast of Ireland (Glenarm, Co. Antrim). Through travel across the islands and regions of the archipelago, these collectors sought to group the flora of the countries together as an interconnected and mutually-enhancing whole. Linking the biota of the archipelago in single albums, they are alert to distinguishing features and environments, offering points of similarity and contrast. Such albums demonstrate an archipelagic awareness not only to the study of the natural world and natural history, but also of travel routes, knowledge production, imaginative association, and the relationship between human and non-human worlds in the nineteenth century. They embody both the material reality of an archipelagic archive as well as demonstrate an archipelagic methodology.

Studies of the intertwined histories of what historian J.G.A. Pocock coined “the Atlantic Archipelago” (1974, 8) have given rise to the critical field of archipelagic studies. As in John Kerrigan’s seminal work, *Archipelagic English* (2008), the cover of which shows the familiar image of Great Britain and Ireland on a map tilted, reaching out from mainland Europe and into the Atlantic, this involves a new and historically grounded perspective on geography, identity, and the relations between nations and islands. Kerrigan’s study of seventeenth-century “English literature” delves deep into the ways in which these islands constituted “interactive entities” (2008, vii).

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Figure 1. Welsh mosses and ivies, gathered January-February 1860. From “Album of pressed plant, flower, and seaweed specimens, 1856-1863”, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund.



Figure 2. Irish mosses and wildflowers, gathered January-March 1858. From “Album of pressed plant, flower, and seaweed specimens, 1856-1863”, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund.

This issue of *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* brings to light a multiplicity of ways in which archipelagic thinking arises from the archive of the nineteenth century, bringing into focus interconnection, idiosyncrasy, and the ways in which national boundaries were

playwrights, poets, and novelists who were all members of natural history field clubs. These writers, many of whom were part of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, were mobile and well-connected. They sent their scientific findings to journals and societies not just within Ireland, but in London and Edinburgh, and they learnt from visiting scientists who toured the field clubs of the archipelago.

The poet and novelist Emily Lawless, for instance, featured naturalist characters in her novels from the beginning of her career, as in *Major Lawrence, F.L.S.* (1887) or her short fiction “Borroughdale of Borroughdale” (1884). However, these characters often lived in London or on the continent. As interest in Irish natural history increased, Lawless began to feature Irish naturalists in her work, and to explore the unique landscapes of the western seaboard as the literary and cultural revival gathered pace in the closing decades of the century (Hewitt 2020). In *The Book of Gilly* (1906), and various essays, Lawless advanced a naturalism that drew on the spiritual concerns of the Celtic Revival, changing the tenor of her literary approach to scientific study.

Coinciding with the more fully-documented Irish Literary Revival, the “golden age” of Irish natural history also sought to distinguish the nation as a unique and valuable entity, and to reject imposed Anglo-centric models. As Seán Lysaght has suggested, natural history has commonalities with the vogue for other field activities in Ireland, such as folklore collection and antiquarianism, which found more overt expression in the literature of the period (1998, 12). As Mary Orr has demonstrated, the “auxiliary positioning” of Ireland in studies of “British” national history was noted in the mid-century, and a movement to correct this, and to attest to Ireland’s unique landscape and biota, interacted with the broader cultural revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (2019, 159). Naturalists sought both to distinguish Irish scientific study from its annexing under the term “Britain and Ireland,” but also interacted with networks of exchange via individuals and institutions from across the islands, and found literary common ground with Welsh and Scottish writers who were likewise interested in folk revivals, ancient texts, and the revival of Celtic languages.

The cultural and historical reality of an interdisciplinary study of literature and natural history in the period, therefore, necessitated an archipelagic model, and led to an expanded research project funded by the Irish Research Council. In the history of science, Hewitt found studies of local societies, along with historical studies of Scotland, Ireland, and England, with fewer on Wales. In those that studied British natural history, Ireland was often unmentioned, or only briefly discussed. Natural history was both a local and an archipelago-wide phenomenon in the nineteenth century: it sought to study local flora and fauna, but also to contribute to a broader national and international knowledge-base. In order to understand that phenomenon, questions arise such as: Who was collecting information, where were they collecting it, and what broader projects was the information advancing? What support networks were in place to facilitate knowledge production, and how was this knowledge produced, archived, and disseminated?

Comparing Ireland to the other nations of the archipelago, it is also important to understand who had access to this knowledge, and how religious, political, and socio-economic factors influenced its production and impact. Hewitt’s research points toward the ways in which literary works of Irish writer-naturalists were influenced by developments in natural theology through the Edinburgh Gifford Lectures, by the radical spiritualities of Richard Jefferies in England, and even by the *fin de siècle*

enthusiasm for occultism and theosophy. The boundaries of what was a specifically *Irish* natural history could, in some cases, be denoted; but the boundaries were crossed so many times, through so many channels of influence and exchange, that they became porous. As he uncovered a rich archive, Hewitt realised that a study of Irish natural history could not be complete without a study of Scottish natural theology, or the revival of “Celtic” literatures, or an attendance to mobility and networks of exchange.

Tourism and travel writing: an archipelagic practice

Mobility – in the form of travel – was facilitated by increasing infrastructural development. As regions were interconnected more fully through the expansion of roads, railways, and ports, distances collapsed in temporal terms.¹ Nevertheless, the speed of travel highlighted the disparities between regions, and increased the awareness of the “uneven development” so central to literary studies of the emergence of modernism. As Stephen Kern suggests, as the economies of countries were centralised, and as people clustered in cities, there was a need to develop a “single public time,” a universal time system that was expanded into rural areas via the expansion of the railways (1983, 34). This could be said to result in a chronotopic proliferation, where the natural, circular time of rural areas butted against the regimented time of modernity. It also results in a narrative from the vantage point of the city.

The West of Ireland is often imagined and represented as a place untouched by the progress of modernity, industrialism, and technological advancement. Despite the region’s supposed remoteness in the early nineteenth century, travellers and writers were drawn to the western coast’s distinctiveness; writers admired its bucolic and sublime appeal; tourists bemoaned the lacking infrastructure; agricultural improvers saw potential for progress. It features prominently in texts of Irish Romanticism such as Sydney Owenson’s *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) in which the principal character Horatio, the son of an English lord, is banished to the Atlantic coast of Connemara. Alongside such fictional journeys, many travellers and writers from various places of the archipelago flocked to Ireland’s Atlantic coast. Owenson (later Lady Morgan) herself was among those who published a travelogue, titled *Patriotic Sketches of Ireland, written in Connaught* (1807). Here, she advocates the “reclaiming” of bogs and cultivation of “unproductive land” for subsistence and to improve the “aspect of the country” (Owenson 1807, 65, 67). In the early 1830s, Maria Edgeworth travelled along mud-filled roads in Connemara. En route to Clifden, she comments that “the road was rough and the country like the Isle of Anglesea, as if stones and fragments of rock had showered down on the earth, and tracts of bog-heath such as England never saw and Scotland seldom sees, except in the Highlands” (1950, 26). The coastal route from Galway to Clifden was under construction by the Scotland-born civil engineer Alexander Nimmo. Edgeworth writes to her brother, “Nimmo’s new road looking like a gravel walk running often parallel to our path of danger, and yet for want of being finished there it was useless and most tantalising” (34). Nimmo further developed multiple harbours along the coast, including Roundstone, contributing to local, archipelagic, and cross-Atlantic trade and travel routes.

Apart from such direct intervention in coastal ecologies through infrastructural development helped by the exchange and recruitment of expertise from across the archipelago,

Scotland and Ireland were also imaginatively linked. Pilz's current research project on Romantic-era travel writing on Ireland and Scotland's Atlantic coasts emerged from a series of nineteenth-century texts that branded the region of Connemara as "the Irish Highlands." In order to understand this imaginative connection of the two regions, it became clear to Pilz that not only a comparative but an archipelagic framing was required. To do so allows her "to ask how those who inhabit [archipelagos] or contemplate their spatialities and topographical forms might view, represent, talk and write about, or otherwise experience disjuncture, connection and entanglement *between and among* islands" (Stratford et al. 2011, 114). It leads to such explorative questions as: What connects the West of Ireland with the Scottish Highlands in the Romantic imagination in terms of aesthetics, economics, and ecologies? How does the tourism industry develop in these two regions, and what are the consequences for the natural environment? When did modern ideas of wilderness and uncultivated land take shape, and how do Ireland and Scotland differ on this front in relation to demographic and economic developments?

Funded by the Horizon 2020 Marie Skłodowska-Curie programme, Pilz explores the deep history of human-nature relationships along the environmentally fragile Atlantic coasts through an analysis of travel writing. With its place-based narratives, travel writing emerges as an influential genre that shapes attitudes towards nature, as "the privileged site of the traveller-author can be accounted for as the agent of perception" (Crane 2019, 539). Travellers' accounts allow us to gain a deeper understanding of shifts in perception as to when land became landscape, and when landscape became environment. As an aesthetically as well as politically mediated form, this fluid genre represents a substantial archive of the narrative of landscape, both shaped by, and in turn shaping, tourism within an environmental context. In ecological terms, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel discourses expose historical concerns about "natural capabilities" and sustainable resource management (Knight 1836, iii, iv, vii). The liminal position of the archipelago with its shifting and porous borders connects with the liminal position of travel writing; so much so that this genre emerges as one of the crucial sources in our contributors' explorations.

The archipelagic archive

To recover a nineteenth-century archipelagic archive that is grounded in historical, textual, and material reality, then, offers us the opportunity to shed light on the innovations of nineteenth-century cultural responses to shifts in perception toward nature, ecological understandings of island communities, and scientific work. For John Brannigan, "[t]o use the word 'archipelago'" means that "to talk about the relations between the constituent parts of the British and Irish Isles implies a plural and connective vision quite at odds with the cultural and political homogenisation which lay at the heart of the Unionist project" (2015, 6). As such, it continues to be a timely approach in our current moment of geopolitical upheaval in which questions of borders, nationalism(s), and climate emergency are at the forefront. Introduced in critical debate in the 1970s, archipelagic criticism has been predominantly applied to literary productions of the early modern period (Kerrigan 2008), the eighteenth century, and the productions of the Romantic movement (Prescott 2016; Edwards 2017), or to writings that date from

the late-nineteenth century onwards (Allen 2020; Brannigan 2015; Norquay and Smyth 2002).

It was not until 2007, with the launch of poet and editor Andrew McNeillie's literary magazine *Archipelago*, that the islands' ecologies were seen as a crucial focus in archipelagic writing.² Rather than simply offering a geopolitical or historical recalibration, McNeillie's emphasis is firmly on a "preoccupation with landscape, with documentary and remembrance, with wilderness and wet, with natural and cultural histories, with language and languages, with the littoral and vestigial, the geological, and topographical, with climates, in terms of meteorology, ecology and environment" (2007, vii). Jos Smith has described McNeillie's editorial intervention as directing Pocock and Kerrigan's respective historical and literary "critical method into a forward-looking attempt to shape this contemporary literary movement for the twenty-first century" (2017, 246). McNeillie's forward-looking initiative is, however, significantly indebted to the nineteenth century. In his editorial, he states that "among its prophets are such visionaries as Job, Ecclesiastes, William Blake, William Wordsworth, John Clare, Henry David Thoreau, Herman Melville, Gerard Manley Hopkins, D.H. Lawrence, David Jones" (2007, vii). Indeed, the nineteenth-century archive gives testimony to an archipelagic imaginative as well as to an archipelagic material reality. As the writers and texts discussed in this issue attest, however, it was also not an all-male vision or experience.

Nineteenth-century ecologies

Robert Macfarlane, in his review of the magazine's first issue, signals what the term "archipelagic" has to offer in comparison to "landscape," "nature writing," "pastoral," "environmental": "Perhaps the adjective 'archipelagic' might serve, catching as it does at imaginings that are chthonic, marine, elemental and felt" (2007). Such an understanding gestures toward an experiential perspective. For us, the terms "ecological" and "archipelagic" have an underpinning semantic echo and coherence which makes their side-by-side consideration inevitable. Both push beyond hierarchical visions in order to emphasise the interactions within larger systems, and both foreground exchange and the prominence of natural formations. Given that the archipelagic approach allows us to explore the limits of nationalism, ecologies emerge as nationalism's counterpart; national borders are made porous and replaced by the natural, and national histories are supplemented or challenged by natural history. Together the archipelagic *and* ecological focus enable a rebalancing of England-centric studies of the nineteenth century, throwing up commonalities, singularities, and correctives.

The progress of scientific thought over the course of the nineteenth century made it increasingly difficult to conceive of humanity as distinct from the natural world. The word "ecology" itself is a nineteenth-century invention, coined by German scientist Ernst Haeckel to denote the relations of the organism to its organic and inorganic environment. Taking its root from the Greek "oikos," meaning "household," or "home," the word holds a sense of specificity in its understanding of place. As Cheryll Glotfelty suggests, "all ecological criticism shares the fundamental premise that human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and affected by it. [...] as a theoretical discourse, it negotiates between the human and the nonhuman" (1996, xix). Thinking archipelagically, by renegotiating the theoretical frameworks by and in which we

think about the physical world, in both present and historical terms, involves the reassertion of the importance of ecological criticism. If we change the way we view the physical landscape, in other words, we must also change the attendant ways in which we think about how that landscape affects, and is affected by, human culture.

This issue offers a number of possible archipelagic methodologies on the nineteenth century that emerge from the archive. These methodologies conjure up a fresh set of pre-occupations and assemblage of words. Indeed, one of this issue's interventions is to invite us to think with a different set of vocabulary. As historian David Gange has argued,

The eradication from our historical vocabularies of large-scale labels such as Renaissance, Enlightenment and Modernity, as well as agricultural and industrial revolutions, can allow us to begin to reframe our histories in less urban and goal-oriented ways. In their place can be built narratives that show the frictions: the geographical unevenness, the pain and the visceral resistance to two centuries of rapid change that were once envisaged as heroic progress but are recognised as more problematic with every year that passes. (2019, 340–341)

The importance of an attention to language in literary texts and what it reveals about our relationship to and interaction with the natural world has been recognised in such studies as Louisa Gairn's *Ecology and Modern Scottish Literature*, in which she highlights that "Scottish writers in particular have been sensitive to the perceived erosion of links between language, traditional culture and the natural world; the need to enact gestures of reconnection and reconciliation" (2008, 10). What new vocabularies and attendant perspectives emerge, then, from the contributions of this issue?

Penny Fielding, in the opening article, analyses language as a touchstone to re-think the ecologies of the Atlantic archipelago. Her focus on the context of the Shetland Clearances opens out to new insights into the interconnectedness of local literature, land politics, and print culture. In her reading of Shetland writers Margaret Chalmers and Dorothea Campbell in the early decades of the century, she presents the Shetland islands' nineteenth-century economy as "terraqueous." Such a reading shifts attention away from improvement as one of the "large-scale labels" by pointing instead to an archive of texts that articulates a defiance of the economic and cultural separation of "terra" and "aqua." Arguing for the existence of an "eco-vernacular," Fielding pursues a close reading of James Stout Angus's poem "Eels," published in the *Shetland Times* in the 1870s. At this juncture, the development of a regional print culture chimed with revived interest in local languages. Fielding suggests that Angus's poem "shows how poetry can arrange the biological world in narrative forms, yet, conversely, how it can enter into the biosphere to demonstrate the interdependence of language and the material world in our understanding of 'nature' as a category."

Fielding's case study of Shetland writers invites comparisons across the archipelago, as various nationalisms looked to the natural world as a way of arguing for cultural, geographical, and racial and ethnic distinctions. Islands and coastlines, the perceived "untouched" or "authentic places," were thus imbued with radical potential. Ensuing folk revivals and celebrations of local cultures had political as well as ecological consequences. In putting the "terraqueous" economy into the vocabulary and by putting "eco-vernaculars" on the map, we gain a fuller understanding of cultural movements across the islands that sought to offer new visions of the natural world which might alter, supplement or correct Anglocentric narratives.

Seth Armstrong-Twigg focuses on the nineteenth-century Welsh “capital of the iron and coal,” (Borrow 1862, 88), Merthyr Tydfil, and charts how it transformed “from a rural backwater to a blistering ironopolis.” Contributing to the overlapping fields of travel writing, industry, and ecology, Armstrong-Twigg highlights the way in which industrial production was possible by means of an archipelagic workforce, as “the domestic populace failed to satisfy demand, and migrant workers from its archipelagic neighbours – mostly England and Ireland – arrived to drive production onward.” In dialogue with critical air studies, he argues that “producer, as well as consumer, must be afforded an equal focus.” Such an approach has implications for future avenues of research into nineteenth-century environmental history. The case study of Merthyr Tydfil demonstrates how unprecedented speed in industrial development and demographic change challenged existing aesthetics of rural landscapes and called for a new language that could respond to humans’ engagement with industrial landscapes. The ironworks in the Taff Valley prompted an influx of tourists, with attendant publications of travel texts that sought to understand and represent the smokestacks and furnace-lit skies within and against the vocabulary of the picturesque. Drawing on little-known early nineteenth-century travel texts, as well as George Childs’s painting of the Dowlais ironworks, he highlights the extent to which “the ecological disaster of industrialisation prompted a shift in artistic production.” This shift was based on the realities of a human-altered natural environment, affective responses in how to relate to such new environments, and the struggle for a language to write about them in travel writing.

Navigating emotion and environment is at the core of Jessica White’s article, which considers an unpublished travelogue by Georgiana Kennedy on her Romantic-era tour of southwest Scotland. White pays detailed attention to the various ways in which the Scottish environment becomes imbued with personal significance for Kennedy. In the process, she identifies a female inflection of the picturesque that is borne out of the emotional. Kennedy’s representation of nature departs from essentialist readings that “naturalize” a link between women and nature. But there is equally a strong materiality to Kennedy’s botanical interest that adds an amateur-scientific component to travellers’ interaction with nature. While for Georgiana “collecting plants [was] a way of rooting herself in circumstance,” the practice was part of an amateur production of knowledge that contributed to the circulation of plant seeds not only within the archipelago but to the Antipodes. White’s article is suggestive of the ways in which botanical knowledge and amateur skills in collecting plants in one particular locale were transported to other locations, with both cultural knowledge and natural collections being disseminated (in this case, quite literally) through the circulation of plant seeds.

Within the archipelago, the “Celtic” nations contributed both to the larger British scientific project and to individual, national attempts to consolidate a vision of cultural and geographical identity through nature. While civic science and natural history bloomed alongside folklore collection (see, e.g. Finnegan [2009]), the boundary between scientific and literary writing remained productively porous. Literary knowledge also transformed the ways in which the landscapes of the archipelago, and their attendant politics, could be conceived. Nicholas Allen focuses on the aquatic in O’Grady’s historical and political imagination. In his reading of O’Grady’s critically neglected *History of Ireland* (1878) and books for children, he establishes “hydrosapes” with both imaginative and ecological implications: “If the geography of Ireland was conditional on the

shifting oceans of the epochs, then its territorial unity was a fiction that could be unwritten to the estuary, coastline, riverbank and ford.”

The potential of imaginative and also economic relationships to water are further explored in Marguérite Corporaal’s article. Through a focus on the oceanic connections of Irish local colour fiction by writers such as Jane Barlow, Frank James Mathew, Mary Tench, and Katharine Tynan, and a study of the visual culture of the *Illustrated London News*, Corporaal advances a principle of the “global local.” Representations of the Atlantic seaboard in the late nineteenth century link Irish coastal communities with other maritime communities within and beyond the archipelago. The seaboard communities in Irish regional fiction of the 1890s, Corporaal shows, are positioned as part of global constellations that are not bounded by imperial geographies.

As local colour fiction often foregrounded the significance and prominence of natural (rather than national) boundaries through attention to the seaboard, so borders were undermined or blurred through movement. Julia Ditter’s article explores the works of Robert Louis Stevenson, particularly *Kidnapped* (1886) and the travel essays, in terms of Stevenson’s “wayfaring,” which is conceived not just as an inclination to move across borders, but as a parallel formal inclination in Stevenson’s texts to cross genres and forms, fact and fiction, and high and popular culture. “Wayfaring,” indeed, might be construed as an archipelagic methodology. Stevenson, Ditter shows, “uses mobility to create an environmental perspective on Scotland which simultaneously stabilizes the country as a distinct imagined community and reveals the porosity of its geopolitical and cultural borders.”

Conclusion

People, texts, stories, knowledge, goods, flora, and fauna travelled along visible and invisible routes within the archipelago, connecting the local, regional, and national to the global. The articles in this issue demonstrate the ways in which archipelagic thought and methodologies might be seen to emerge not solely from an attention to chthonic or affective relationships to the natural world, but also from new connective networks of trade, technology, print culture, travel, and cultural exchange that developed in the nineteenth century. The reality of social, industrial, and political change over the course of the century, then, can also be shown to be an instigator of archipelagic thinking. Revisiting nineteenth-century ecologies highlights the extent to which the developments and changes over the course of that century brought archipelagic networks, productions of knowledge, and exchanges more and more to the fore.

The groundwork of archipelagic consideration of the nineteenth century is still far from settled: methodologies are still contested and in flux, and although ecocritical considerations of nineteenth-century culture have advanced in recent years, there remains little in the way of critical consensus as to how this new archipelagic paradigm might function in regards to the period. Thus, this issue offers a series of inroads, not final destinations. The articles here suggest methodologies and case-studies for how fiction, poetry, travel writing, and various visual and non-fictional genres might be opened up through consideration of “a dynamic fabric of interrelationships” (Coolahan 2018, 10), and might in turn test, challenge, and contribute to our understanding of archipelagic criticism.

Together, the articles in this issue revitalise a rich past vocabulary that establishes the nineteenth-century contexts of the ecologies of the Atlantic archipelago. This issue suggests the prevalence of a mode of archipelagic thinking that predates the coining of the term and the rise of archipelagic criticism in the 1970s, not only offering methodologies for the archipelagic study of nineteenth-century culture, but also proving that archipelagic studies are necessary, emerging as they do out of the archive itself.

Notes

1. See, for instance, Connolly (2019) on the development of steam travel and sea-crossings between Ireland and Wales.
2. The *Archipelago Anthology*, edited by Nicholas Allen and Fiona Stafford, will be published in autumn 2021 by Lilliput Press.

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Anna Pilz is Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. To date, she has published in the field of Irish Studies, with a particular specialism in women's writing, cultural and literary history, as well as on the intersection between literature and environmental history. Her first monograph on narratives of deforestation and arboreal landscapes in Irish writing is contracted by Liverpool University Press. Pilz's current research project investigates a rich archive of Romantic-era travel writing on Ireland and Scotland's Atlantic coasts.

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